

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07

NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 NSC-05 H-02 DODE-00 CU-02 BIB-01 DHA-02 /085 W

----- 069049

R 011616Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8614

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY VALLETTA

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

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AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION USNATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 2545

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR CSCE EI  
SUBJECT: CONSULTATION WITH NEUTRALS ON CSCE

REF: STATE 283196

SUMMARY: THE IRISH PREDICT THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF BELGRADE WILL BE A CLASH BETWEEN THE EASTERN "QUANTITATIVE" APPROACH AND THE WESTERN "QUALITATIVE" APPROACH. SO FAR THE IRISH FEEL THEY ARE GETTING A BAD DEAL ON INFORMATION. IN GENERAL THE IRISH GO ALONG WITH THEIR EC PARTNERS, WHO HAVE MORE DIRECT CONTACTS WITH THE EAST. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE USG COULD PROVIDE A USEFUL SUMMARY OF THE LATEST FACTS AND FIGURES OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION TO THE GOI BEFORE THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S TRIP TO MOSCOW DECEMBER 14. (SEE PARA 8). END SUMMARY.

1. WE PRESENTED POINTS IN REFTEL TO MFA COUNSELOR MACKERNAN ON NOVEMBER 19, BUT HE DECLINED TO COMMENT AT THE TIME BECAUSE HE HAD JUST RETURNED TO THE JOB AFTER TWO MONTHS OF SICK LEAVE. MACKERNAN IS THE SOLE IRISH EXPERT ON CSCE, THOUGH FIRST SECRETARY SHARKEY HAS BEEN COVERING DURING MACKERNAN'S ILLNESS. THE POLITICAL OFFICER HAD A SESSION WITH MACKERNAN AND SHARKEY NOVEMBER 30 AFTER THEY HAD HAD A CHANCE TO STUDY OUR AIDE-MEMOIRE CONSISTING OF PARA 2 OF REFTEL. THEIR COMMENTS ON VARIOUS CSCE ASPECTS ARE BELOW.

2. BELGRADE MEETINGS - WE DISCUSSED THE EC "PRACTICAL PROBLEMS" PAPER (USNATO 6496) WHICH SHARKEY SAID WAS, IN HIS OPINION, A PROVISIONAL PAPER WHICH WILL BE FLESHED OUT IN SUBSEQUENT EC-9 CSCE EXPERTS MEETINGS. THE IRISH WILL GO ALONG WITH THE EC CONSENSUS ON THE BELGRADE MEETING AND HAVE NO OBJECTIONS TO THE  
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APPROACH OUTLINED IN THE PAPER. MACKERNAN STRESSED THAT THE IRISH FORESEE A CLASH AT BELGRADE BETWEEN THE EASTERN "QUANTITATIVE" APPROACH (E.G. STATISTICS ON NUMBERS OF TRANSLATIONS OF WESTERN DOCUMENTS) AND THE WESTERN "QUALITATIVE" APPROACH (E.G. CENSORSHIP OF THOSE TRANSLATED DOCUMENTS). MACKERNAN FURTHER SAID THAT HE AND OTHERS IN THE EC ARE FRANKLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO CSCE,

AND ITS EFFECT ON BELGRADE. HE SAID THAT HE HAD DETECTED THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION VIEWS DETENTE AND CSCE AS A "ONE-WAY STREET", AND HE WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THAT IN HIS VIEW THE WEST GOT MUCH MORE OUT OF CSCE THAN THE EAST, AND THAT THE IMPLEMENTATION PHASE COULD ONLY BE A NO-LOSS EXERCISE FOR WESTERN INTERESTS.

3. INFORMATION - THE IRISH AGREE THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO PERCEPTIBLE CHANGE IN THIS AREA. MACKERNAN AGAIN MENTIONED THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH OF THE SOVIETS AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MUST PREPARE GOOD DEFENSES AGAINST THIS FOR BELGRADE. HE SAID THAT THE IRISH EXPERIENCE MIGHT BE marginally USEFUL. SINCE THE APPEARANCE OF A SOVIET EMBASSY IN DUBLIN ONLY THREE YEARS AGO THERE HAS BEEN A RATHER COPIOUS AMOUNT OF SOVIET FILMS, BOOKS, AND PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE IN IRELAND. THE FACT THAT THIS AVAILABLE INFORMATION MATERIAL HAS HAD NO POPULAR APPEAL, AND VERY LITTLE CIRCULATION, ONLY RELATES TO ITS LACK OF QUALITY. THERE ARE NO RESTRICTIONS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD NO DOCUMENTATION BUT BELIEVED THAT THE AVAILABILITY IN THE USSR OF THE MANY IRISH WRITERS - YEATS, O'CASEY, SHAW, JOYCE, ETC. - IS STRICTLY LIMITED AND CENSORED.

4. RADIO BROADCASTING - THE IRISH HAVE NO DIRECT INTEREST IN THIS ASPECT OF CSCE. SHARKEY POINTED OUT THAT ON THIS POINT THE FINAL ACT WAS PARTICULARLY AMBIGUOUS, AND SUGGESTED THAT WE SHOULD NOT MAKE IT A BIG ISSUE AT BELGRADE.

5. FAMILY REUNIFICATION - MACKERNAN SAID THAT THE IRISH HAVE HAD ONLY TWO CASES SINCE HELSINKI, BOTH CONFIDENTIAL

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SETTLED SATISFACTORILY, BUT THAT THE IRISH RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM FOR OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. HIS IMPRESSION IS THAT THE GERMANS ARE CURRENTLY PLEASED WITH THE PROGRESS IN THIS AREA AND THAT THE GENERAL OPINION IN THE EC IS TO BRING UP THE POINT WITH EMPHASIS AT BELGRADE BUT NOT TO MAKE A BIG ISSUE OF IT. "KEEP IT ON THE PLATE SO THEY WILL NOT BACKSLIDE" WAS SHARKEY'S MIXED-METAPHOR COMMENT.

6. BILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION ARRANGEMENTS - THE IRISH HAVE HAD NO APPROACHES FROM HUNGARY OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR ANY OTHER EE COUNTRY, BUT ARE WELL INFORMED ON THE APPROACHES FROM THEIR EC PARTNERS. IN GENERAL THE IRISH SUPPORT THE IDEA THAT THE FINAL ACT CALLS FOR UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION, BUT MACKERNAN SAID THAT

THE IRISH DO NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO THE CZECH PROPOSAL FOR PERIODIC BILATERAL MEETINGS.

7. RE PARA 4 OF REFTTEL, WHICH REFERS TO THE FIRST VISIT OF THE IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE USSR SINCE ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS (DECEMBER 14-20). IN THE BEGINNING OF THE DISCUSSION MACKERNAN WAS RETICENT ABOUT MAKING ANY STRONG POINTS ABOUT BASKET III DURING THE MOSCOW VISIT, BUT AFTER SOME TALK HE AGREED THAT THE IRISH HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BY MAKING A STRONG CSCE PRESENTATION, WHICH HE AGREED WOULD BE A POPULAR GESTURE TO LOCAL PUBLIC OPINION. SHARKEY THEN COMMENTED THAT - SINCE IRELAND HAS VIRTUALLY NO BILATERAL ISSUES WITH THE USSR VIS-A-VIS ANY OF THE BASKETS OF CSCE, COULD WE PROVIDE THE IRISH WITH SOME DOCUMENTATION ON GENERAL POINTS RE INFORMATION, REUNIFICATION, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, ETC., WHICH COULD BE BROUGHT UP IN THE IRISH-SOVIETS TALKS. WE THEN MENTIONED THE LATEST NATO INFORMATION PASSED TO THE IRISH (STATE 285505). SHARKEY SAID THAT THIS INFORMATION WAS GREATLY APPRECIATED AND VERY HELPFUL, BUT THAT UNFORTUNATELY THE VOLUME WAS SIMPLY INDIGESTIBLE IN THE TIME AVAILABLE BEFORE THE MOSCOW VISIT. THE POLITICAL SECTION OF THE IRISH MFA IS CURRENTLY FUNCTIONING WITH SEVEN EFFECTIVE OFFICERS TO HANDLE ALL AFFAIRS. HE SAID THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF WE COULD PROVIDE THEM WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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A SUMMARY OF USEFUL POINTS ON BASKET III WITH DOCUMENTATION.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: IF THE DEPARTMENT OR USNATO HAS A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE LATEST FACTS AND FIGURES ON IMPLEMENTATION, WE REQUEST THAT IT BE SENT TO US FOR PASSING ON TO THE IRISH. WE REALIZE IRELAND'S VOICE IN CSCE IS SMALL, BUT IT HAS BEEN RECEIVING CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION FROM THE SOVIETS OF LATE, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF ITS ODD-MAN-OUT-IN-EUROPE POSITION, I.E., THE ONLY NON-NATO MEMBER OF THE EC, AND A "NEUTRAL" WHICH DOES NOT CAUCUS WITH THE OTHER NEUTRALS. RENDAHL

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